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With equal ingenuousness he adverts to the undeniable infirmity of his own temper, which old age had not wholly subdued. He confesses it with a touching simplicity ; and declares, that though God may have forgiven him, he cannot forgive himself for the rash words and deeds, by which he had seemed injurious, or less tender and kind than he should have been to his near and dear relations. ‘For when such are dead,’ adds he, ‘though we never differed in point of interest, or any other matter, every sour, or cross, or provoking word, which I gave them, maketh me almost irreconcilable to myself ; and tells me how repentance brought some of old to pray to the dead, whom they had wronged, to forgive them in the hurry of their passion.

These are among the changes, which Baxter describes, as having gradually taken place in his religious feelings and opinions. They are more honorable to him than all the glory of his genius, his learning or his eloquence ; and he has given in them the most beautiful illustration of one of his own fine sayings, ‘That as fruit grows mellow in ripening for the taste, so old age grows kinder as it ripens for Heaven,’

ART. IV.—*Hodgson's Memoirs on the Berber Language.*

1. *Grammatical Sketch and Specimens of the Berber Language, preceded by Four Letters on Berber Etymologies, addressed to the President of the American Philosophical Society.* Read Oct. 2, 1829. Published in the Transactions of the Society.
2. *Notes of a Journey into the Interior of North Africa, by Hadji Ebn-ed-Din El-Eghwaati.* Translated by W. B. HODGSON, Esq., late American Consul at Algiers, and a Foreign Member of the British Royal Asiatic Society. London. 1830.

These publications exhibit very satisfactory evidences of the zeal and industry with which Mr. Hodgson employed the opportunities afforded him by his residence at the Consulate at Algiers, for the purpose of extending his own knowledge of foreign languages, and increasing the general stock of philosophical learning. The want of a competent oriental interpreter had been sensibly felt at the Department of State on several

occasions of considerable importance, and Mr. Hodgson was attached to the Consulate at Algiers, then under the direction of Mr. Shaler, for the purpose of enabling him to qualify himself for this service. He had previously exhibited a decided talent for the acquisition of foreign and particularly Oriental languages, and the results of his studies at Algiers prove that the selection was judicious and fortunate. We are glad to perceive, that though withdrawn from Algiers, Mr. Hodgson has been retained in the public service by the present administration, and that he has been recently attached to the Legation at Constantinople, in quality of Interpreting Secretary. This situation is still more favorable for literary and philological researches than the other, and we look forward with high expectations to the fruits of his labors in this rich field.

The first of the publications now before us is a series of four letters on the Berber language, accompanied by a very concise grammatical sketch. They were addressed to Mr. Duponceau, and by him communicated to the American Philosophical Society. The name of this eminent philologist would of itself be sufficient to establish their claims to attention, and they will be found in fact to add a number of curious and valuable particulars to the little that was before known upon the subject.

The Berber language is common to a race of men, which, under some varieties of physical conformation, is thinly scattered over the whole North of Africa, from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean. They are entirely distinct in person, language and manners, both from the Moors and the Negroes, and must therefore be the descendants either of the Carthaginians, or of the people who inhabited the country previously to the foundation of Carthage by the Phœnicians, and who were known to the ancients by the names of Libyans and Numidians. The former opinion was adopted by Langlès and Marsden, and has been recently countenanced by a respectable British Journal. The latter was deduced from the same materials by Heeren, and is supported in the work before us. The plan upon which Mr. Hodgson conducted his researches is described in the following extract.

'The more I investigate the subject, the more I am satisfied that the idiom of the Berbers is not the remains of the ancient Punic; but that it is the same language which was spoken by the inhabitants of the northern coast of Africa, at the time of the foundation of Carthage; much corrupted, however, by the introduction of Arabic,

and perhaps in this district at least, of Punic words and forms. The former, indeed, are so visible, that it is easy to perceive that they do not belong to the original language, from the peculiar structure of which they essentially differ. The latter, if any there be, it is not so easy to observe, as there are no remains of the Punic language sufficient to assist us in the inquiry. We may, perhaps, discover hereafter, some traces of it, by comparing the Berber of what was called Africa Proper, with the dialects of those parts where Carthaginian colonization did not extend. If the Punic idiom was ever incorporated to any extent with the language of the Numidians in the vicinity of Carthage, or in the countries under her dominion, it must have produced a marked difference between their dialects and those of the more distant tribes, which cannot escape the inquisitive eye of philologists.

' My knowledge of the Berber language is, as you will readily perceive, very limited. But I have an intelligent Taleb, a native Kabyle, who is well skilled in that idiom, and in the literal and vulgar Arabic. Hamet, as he is called, is a young man, twenty-one years of age, belonging to the Emazzean tribe, vulgarly called *Beni Boojeiah*, and to the village of *Thegedoween*. He studied the Koran and Sidi Khalil for six years, at the *Mederes* or Theological School of Boojeiah, near which he resides. After having completed his course of divinity, he came to Algiers, where he was made known to me by a Kabyle, in the employment of this consulate. On the suggestion of Mr. Shaler, I engaged his services, and he now resides in the Consular house, at Mr. Shaler's expense : such is the devotion of this excellent man to the cause of science, and to every thing that may be honorable or useful to our country.

' Through the medium of the Arabic language, my young Marabout instructs me in his native tongue ; and the enclosed sketches are the first fruits of the instruction I have received from him. He has translated for me into Arabic several Berber tales ; one of which I have selected, and send you, as well as a piece of Berber poetry, with literal translations, which I have been able to make into English by means of the explanations of my Taleb. I could not have done it without his aid. His mind is equal to the analytical labor which it required.

' But I have found him particularly useful in my investigation of the origin of the Berber language. The plan which I pursued was to ascertain whether the proper names of persons and places, which abound in the books of ancient history and geography, some of the latter of which have been preserved to this day, were in any way connected with the Berber idiom. If I should not only find that they bore some analogy to it, but that they had such signi-

fications as might naturally be supposed to be connected with proper names, a strong argument would be obtained in favor of the antiquity of this language and of its being aboriginal to the country. If those significant names extended east and west from one end of the African continent to the other, and from its northern coast south even to the Desert of Sahara, where no Phenician colony can be supposed to have existed, it would be clear, independently of the inferences that may be drawn from the different structure of the two languages, that our Berber could not be the Punic, as Marsden and others have supposed ; but was the language of the Autochthones, of the ancient inhabitants of the country, which the Phenicians who founded Carthage and their descendants were obliged to learn and to speak in common with their own, and which procured them the appellation of *Tyrii bilingues*.

' Full of this idea, Mr. Shaler and I immediately set to work, by turning over the leaves of Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and other Greek and Roman writers; and having collected a considerable list of geographical names, we hastened to present them to our Taleb, and were not a little delighted to find, that he recognised in many of them words of his own language, bearing such significations as might naturally be supposed to have been affixed to towns, rivers, mountains, &c. and that this was particularly the case with those names which still continue to be in use from the remotest antiquity, and which have at this day the same meaning which they probably had in ancient times. So far as we have gone, our success has exceeded our most sanguine expectations ; so much so, that although our labors are by no means at an end, I cannot refrain from giving you some specimens of our progress. I regret exceedingly that Mr. Shaler's departure deprives me of his powerful assistance : I feel nevertheless sufficient courage to proceed in this interesting investigation, and hope to obtain still more convincing proofs of the fact, that the Berber language is no other than the ancient Libyan, or Numidian, as you may please to call it.'

Mr. Hodgson proceeds to give some examples of ancient names of persons and places, which he had found to be significant in the Berber tongue. The following may serve as a specimen.

' I begin with the word *Atlas*, the name which has been given from the highest antiquity to that chain of mountains which extends from the western coast of Africa to the confines of Egypt. As this name has come down to us through the Greeks, and is closely connected with the ancient mythology of that people, it

seems natural to suppose that it is of Grecian origin; but I am rather inclined to believe that it is derived from the language of the people who inhabit those mountains, from whom most probably the Greeks received it, and, according to their well known custom, softened the harshness of its sounds to give it that euphony which their delicate ears indispensably required.

'I cannot find that the Berbers of this day have any discriminating name for the chain of Mount Atlas. They call it *Adhraer*,* the mountain, and in the plural *Edhrarin*. This word is written variously by the different authors who have treated of the Berber language. Hornemann writes it *Idrarn*, Ali-Bey *Adrer*, Dr. Shaw *Athrair*; Mr. Shaler's vocabulary has the spelling of two persons, one of whom writes *Adrar*, and the other *Æderer*. This shows how differently the auditory organs can be affected by the sounds of a language greatly differing from our own. Then why could not the Greeks in those remote times have transformed *Adrar* or *Adhraer* into *Atlas*? Etymologists well know how easily *d* or *dh* is changed into *t*; and the liquid sound of *r* into *l* and *s*. I think it unnecessary to cite any examples to you, who are, no doubt, familiar with these transmutations of organic sounds. It might be said, perhaps, that when the Greeks invented the fable of the giant of these mountains, who supported the world upon his shoulders, they changed *Adrar* into *Atlas* by analogy to the words of their own language *ἀθλετῶν* and *ἀθλητῆς*, expressive of his mighty struggles to bear the weight imposed upon him: but we must be on our guard against fanciful conjectures.

There can be no doubt that this word *Adrar* or *Adhraer* is very ancient. Dr. Shaw, in his valuable work on Barbary and the Levant, observes that it has been remarked by the ancient geographers, that the Atlas chain of mountains was called in their times *Dyris* or *Dyrim*, and *Adderis* or *Adderim*; and upon that he proceeds gravely to discuss a Hebrew etymology of these words which he found in Bochart, and an Arabic one of his own. But we have at least shaken off the yoke of that pedantic prejudice, which formerly traced all etymologies to the Hebrew and the Semitic languages. We do not think that the christian religion will be less followed, or the Mosaic account of the creation less believed, because we cannot find a Hebrew origin for all the idioms of the earth.

'These names, which are found in Strabo among the Greeks, and in Pliny, Solinus and Marianus Capella among the Latin writers, appear to me to be nothing else than the Berber words

* In this word *dh* has the sound of *Δ* in modern Greek, or of the English *th* in *then, that*.

Athraer, Adhrarin, which, as I have said before, mean a mountain or mountains, differently corrupted from what they had been before when they were changed to *Atlas*. *Adrar, Athraer, Edhrarin, Adderis* or *Adderim*, are evidently the same word, with such variations as may naturally be expected, when proper names pass from one language into another. There is surely not more, nor perhaps so much difference between them, as between *Antwerpen* and *Amberes**, *Mechlin* and *Malines*, *Lugdunum* and *Lyons*, Οδυσσεύς and *Ulysses*, Καρχηδών and *Carthage*. And if the Romans or the Greeks changed *Adrar* and *Edhrarin* into *Adderis*, or in the accusative *Adderim*; why from *Adderis* might they not have made *Adras, Atras* or *Atlas*?

The next that I shall adduce is the still existing name of *Thala*, a town celebrated in the history of the Numidian wars for its protracted siege, sustained against the army of Metellus, and for the sublime devotion of its citizens, who preferred committing themselves to the flames, rather than to the hands of their conquerors. See Sallust, Bell. Jugurth. 50—52. *Thala* is the parallel of *Numantia*, and the ancient Numidians probably rivalled the Iberians in warlike virtues and the love of independence. Tacitus, Annal. III. c. 21, mentions another town of the same name.

There are in this name no discrepancies of orthography to reconcile between the ancient and modern spelling. The Romans wrote it *Thala*, and precisely thus do the Kabyles pronounce it at this day. In their language it means *a covered fountain*, in contradistinction to an *open spring*, which is called *Aénser*. There is at this moment in the mountains of Boojeiah, a village of Kabyles, called *Thala Edhrarin*, that is to say, *Thala of the mountains*, from the number or peculiar character of its fountains: the ancient *Thala* may have been so called for the same reason; and with this idea the following passage of Sallust presents a remarkable coincidence. ““Apud Thalam, haud longe à mœnibus, aliquot fontes erant:”” this is the advantage which, he says, *Thala* possessed over the town of *Capsa*, where there was but one spring of water, *una modò jugi aqua*.

The custom of the Kabyles relative to these *covered fountains* is curious and interesting. A house is constructed over them, for their defence from the rays of the sun, from rain, and the pollution of animals. No man is allowed to enter these sacred precincts; women alone, who have ever been the “drawers of water” among uncultivated people, can tread the hallowed spot: if a man violate the sanctuary, punishment is inflicted, and an ox

* The Spanish name for *Antwerp*.

is sacrificed as a piaculum to the genius of the fountain. The practice of sacrificing goats, cocks, &c. to *Jin* or Genii is still observed by the Arabs and Moors. The ox is dissected by the *Amekran* or chief of the Kabyle *theddarth* or village, and by him distributed to the people, who attend in numbers on these occasions."

Numerous other examples are given by Mr. Hodgson of affinities of the same description, to which we cannot here advert. Our author is of opinion, that the language spoken by the ancient Egyptians was a branch of the Berber, and has attempted to explain several Egyptian names by recurrence to that idiom. His observations upon this point, if not always decisive, are certainly worth attention, as will be seen by the following extract.

'I have, however, had the good fortune to meet here with a copy of the most excellent work of M. Champollion the younger, entitled "*Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des anciens Egyptiens.*" I have read it with avidity, and was delighted to find in it some facts, which seem to support the conjecture which I have ventured to offer to you. The first thing that has struck me, is some real affinities in the grammatical forms of the Coptic and Berber languages. *Nou*, *ne* or *noui*, and *ent* answer in Coptic to our pronoun *which*. In the Kabyle dialect of the Berbers, *enoua* and *enta* have the same signification. *Yours* and *his*, in both languages, are expressed by *nek* and *nes*; *towards you* would be in Coptic *éroek*, in Berber the phrase is rendered by *Ghâreck* or *Areek*. I should also observe that P. PH. are the masculine determinate articles, and T. TH. the feminine, in the one language, and D. DH. are the masculine, and T. TH. the feminine determinate articles of the other, and that in both they are used as prefixes.'

'I think I have found Berber etymologies for four Egyptian proper names. I give them to you for what they are worth.

'Those names are *Ammon*, *Themis*, *Thebes* or *Thebais*, and *Thoth*. I shall proceed with them separately and in order.

'1. *Anmon*. This, as you well know, is the name of the Egyptian Jupiter. It appears, however, that he was not of Egyptian, but of Libyan origin. Propertius, l. 4, eleg. 1, calls him *Jupiter Libycus*. Lucan, in his Pharsalia, lib. 10, v. 511, speaks of him also as a Libyan God, the only one that had a temple in that country. It is related in our books of mythology, that Hercules, crossing the Libyan deserts with his army, on his way to India, and perishing with thirst, implored the aid of his father Jupiter, who appeared to him in the form of a ram, and scratching the

earth with his foot, a spring of water immediately spouted up. Thus, all the accounts we have of Jupiter Ammon point to a Libyan origin, and it is well known that his celebrated temple was not in Egypt, but in an Oasis, supposed to be that of Siwah, in the desert of Barca, where the Berber idiom is still spoken.'

' Whatever you may think of this etymology, it is certainly preferable to any one that may be derived from the Greek language; for, how can it be supposed that it was spoken or even known in Egypt, in the remote times to which the worship of Ammon may be traced? M. Champollion's researches have proved to us that it existed as far back as the reign of Sesostris. Therefore the derivation from *ἀμφος* must be considered at this day as utterly inadmissible, and no better one has been suggested that I know of. I proceed to the next Egyptian name.

' 2. *Themis*. The ancient Egyptians, according to Champollion, wrote this name *Sme*,* with their phonetic characters. The Greeks wrote θέμις. This goddess was the daughter of heaven and earth. In the Grecian mythology she was the goddess of truth or justice. The Greek version by Hermaphion, of her hieroglyph, found on an obelisk, is Αλήσθεια. Now *Themis*, in the Berber language, signifies *fire*, the great elemental principle of nature, and the symbol of purity. The Romans and we derived *puritas* and *purity* from πῦρ *fire*, the purest of all the elements; why could not the name of the goddess of purity be derived from a Berber word, having the same sound and the same signification? I submit this etymology to you; it may serve, at least, until a better one shall be found.

' 3. *Thebes*, *Thebais*. History records, that after the demise of Menes or Osiris, Egypt comprised four dynasties: Thebes, Thin, Memphis and Tunis. Thebes was the capital of Thebais, in what the ancient geographers call *Aegyptus Superior*, or upper Egypt. The following passage from Diodorus appears to me, if not fully to establish, at least to give great probability to the etymology which I shall presently mention. In the fifth book of his history, *De Osiride et Iside*, he says: Κτίσαι δέ φάσι τοτὲ περὶ τὸν Οσίριν πόλιν ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐκατόμπυλον· ἦν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπώνυμον πολησατίης μῆτρος. "It remains to be said of Osiris, that he built a city of one hundred gates in Thebais, to which he gave the name of *Mother*."

' The explanation of this passage can only be found by recurring to the Berber language. In that idiom, *Thebais* or *Thebaish* signifies the breast of a woman, *mamma*, while *Tamazegth* is the

* M. Champollion, *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique*, pp. 265, 267, 281, second edition, calls this Egyptian goddess *Tme* or *Thmei*, which brings this name still nearer to the Berber word *Themis*, which the Greeks have preserved without variation.

dug or teat of an animal. If by metonymy we say *mamma* for *mother*, may not the same license be allowed to Osiris? The celebrated Thebes, the hecatompylos of Homer, corresponded in magnitude and wealth to the populous and fertile district of Thebais. That region and its splendid capital merited the appellation of *mother country* and *maternal city*, and in this sense, probably, the Greeks adopted, and we still use the word *metropolis*.

' 4. *Thot* or *Thoth*. This god was the Egyptian Hermes or Mercury. *Theut*, *Thut* or *Thot* in the Berber language signifies the *eye*, and this appellation seems to me distinctly to characterise the winged messenger and plenipotentiary of the gods, and the vigilant guardian of Juno. The early Greek historians relate, that when Osiris set out on his expedition, with the view of traversing the globe, he left the administration of his kingdom to his wife Isis, and appointed *Thoth* to be her counsellor. Vigilance and prudence, therefore, must have been the qualities that recommended him to that high trust. The Egyptians, according to Champollion, ignorant of the author of their phonetic signs, attributed the invention to Thoth, who was esteemed the father of arts and sciences. With these qualifications, he might well have been entitled to the allegoric name of the *eye*, so well adapted to the objects of his celestial office.

' I beg leave to trouble you with a few more observations.

' The ancient city of Egypt, called *On* by the Hebrews and *Heliopolis* by the Greeks, was by the Egyptians named *Tadis* (Vide D'Herbelot). The Arabs, following the analogy of the Greek denomination, called this city *Ain-el-Schems*, the eye of the sun. This corresponds with the Greek Heliopolis. The import of the Egyptian *Tadis* would not have been known probably, but for Berber etymology. In this language, *Tadij* signifies the sun.'

The derivations of Thebes and of Tadis appear to us to be satisfactory; the others, and particularly that of Ammon, are plausible, though somewhat less decisive. The name of the river Nile, of which no account has been hitherto given, is traced by Mr. Hodgson to the same language.

' I now come to the famous river *Nile*. In the first book of either Herodotus or Diodorus Siculus, the Egyptians are said to have called the Nile *Oceanus*. *Ile* or *Illee*, in Berber means the sea, which may have been changed into *Nile*, thus: the inhabitants of Egypt probably gave to their sacred river some appellation, such as the father or fountain of the sea. With this supposition, *Nile* would be the genitive inflection "*of the sea*." If the ancient historians, whom I cannot now consult, report correctly, that the

Nile was called *Ocean*, then the sea, with the determinate masculine article, would be *Dhile*, which, in the softer enunciation of the Greeks, might have been made *Nile*. The Berber word for sea, I obtained after a long search, from a native of the island of Zerbi or Djerba, the ancient *Meninx*, in the Syrtis Minor. The inhabitants of this island were the *Lotophagi* of Homer. They speak the Berber language less mixed with Arabic than the Kabyles of Algiers.

'The structure of the Coptic language justifies the preceding derivation. From Champollion I learn that "en Copte, la préposition *n* remplace le cas génitif des Latins." (Précis, p. 129.) This is another coincidence to be added to what I said in my preceding letter on the similarity of forms between the Coptic and the Berber.

'To derive the appellation Nile from Hebrew or Arabic roots, as has been done by Pococke and other learned men, would be to suppose those to have been idioms of Egypt anterior to the flood. I have in my possession a valuable Arabic manuscript of Abou Abbas Ahmed Ben Josef, which he calls *Akhbar-ul-dowell on Athar-ul-Ewwel*, in which is found a history of Egypt prior to the deluge, and the Nile was so called at that remote period. Whence Abou Abbas obtained his information, it would be curious to know; for no records or traditions of the condition of this globe previous to the grand cataclysm can be safely received, but from the *Genesis of Moses*.'

The Berbers are also known by the names of Kabyles and Tuarick, both according to our author signifying *Tribes*. The meaning of *Berber* he does not attempt to trace.

'Are the aborigines of North Africa known by any generic name; or do the various tribes bear, each, a particular appellation? To the first part of this question it is answered, that the term *Berber*, of which the plural form is *beraber*, is universally acknowledged by the original population of this country. I have conversed with natives of Morocco and of Tripoli, and every where the earlier Africans call themselves *Beraber*. The etymology of this word cannot now, perhaps, be ascertained; but its origin is probably anterior to the Roman domination. By the Arabian geographers and historians, *El Wardi*, *Māsoudi*, and *Achmed Tchelebi el Karamani*, the Berbers are distinctly mentioned as occupying the oases, and also various parts of North Africa. Leo Africanus proposes two derivations; the one from *Ber* signifying desert, and the other from *Burbrera*, *to mutter*. As etymologies are intimately connected with history and various local circumstances, of which I am ignorant in relation to Berber,

its derivation remains sub judice. Gibbon asserts that this word is of Greek origin, being the corruption of the epithet *βάρβαροι*, which was applied to all foreigners.'

It is probable that Gibbon has reversed the real derivation, and that *Berber*, instead of being derived from, is the root of the Greek *βαρβάρος*. The etymology of both these words has exercised the ingenuity of antiquarians, and given rise to many fanciful explanations, some of which are alluded to in the above extract. Mr. Hodgson states, that the term *Berber* is probably anterior to the Roman domination; but if it be, as he also supposes, the name by which these people are known among themselves, it is of course coeval with their residence in the country, and is anterior not merely to the Roman, but to the Carthaginian period, and as old as the oldest historical records. Herodotus in fact states, that the Egyptians called all who did not speak their language *βαρβάροις*, and it is probable that the Greeks borrowed the term from them both in its direct and extended signification.* If we consider the term *βαρβάροις*, as used by Herodotus, to be the proper name *Berber*, we cannot suppose with Mr. Hodgson, that the Egyptians spoke the Berber language. This is also on other accounts improbable. But although the Egyptian or ancient Coptic language was different from the *Berber*, it is natural enough that the former should have included a great many words, especially names of places and persons, which are significant in the latter. Of the two aboriginal races, into which the natives of Africa were anciently divided, and which were denominated by the Greeks the Ethiopians and the Libyans, the latter, who called themselves *Berber*, occupied the whole northern part of the Continent, including no doubt the Delta of the Nile, before its occupation by the Egyptians. Whether the ruling castes among the Egyptians descended the Nile from Ethiopia, or, as some suppose, came in by the sea-coast from Arabia, or whether, as is more probable, they were made up of contributions from both these sources, they must have been on any supposition foreign to the native *Berber* race, and must have spoken a different language. Hence the term *Berber*, as used by the Egyptian priests, would naturally indicate persons speaking a foreign language, which Herodotus tells us was the case. But it was also quite natural that when the Egyptians took possession of the

* Herod, II. 158. See also N. A. Review, XVI. 155.

country, they should have retained a great many of the Berber names of cities, rivers and other prominent objects. It is not more singular that the city Tadis or the river Nile should have Berber names,—if such in fact they be,—than that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts or the River Mississippi should have Indian ones. It would be more difficult to give a reason, why the names of the Egyptian divinities, such as Ammon and Themis should be significant in the Berber tongue, although this might perhaps be accounted for on the otherwise probable supposition of the common origin of all these neighboring races.

The sketch of a Berber Grammar which accompanies these letters is not without value, but is too imperfect to be entirely satisfactory. We are glad to learn from a passage in one of the letters, that it is the intention of Mr. Hodgson to publish a complete work on that subject, and we hope the change in his residence will not prevent him from accomplishing this intention. The Berber language has hitherto been very little studied, and a better acquaintance with it would throw much light on many important points in philology and ancient history.

The other work, to which we have now called the attention of our readers, is a translation by Mr. Hodgson of a curious Arabic manuscript, giving an account of a journey through several parts of North Africa, by a native of the country, who takes the style and title of Hadji Ebn-ed-Din El-Eghwaati, which is, by interpretation, The Pilgrim Ebn-ed-Din of Eghwaat, a town about two degrees to the South of Algiers. It is mentioned by Shaw under the name of Lowaate. The work is introduced by the following short and modest preface.

‘ I have prepared a translation of a small narrative of travels in North Africa, by Hadji Ebn-ed-din el-Eghwaati.

‘ This narrative was composed at my request, by the Hadji himself, on the Eastern condition of *peishkash*.

‘ I have thought that the narrative contained some notices on the geography of the interior of Africa, that might be advantageously used by future travellers. The greater part of the towns and people described by Ebn-ed-din are imperfectly known, and some of them have never been mentioned by any European traveller or geographer. Leo Africanus himself has not noticed them.

‘ My principal object in procuring this manuscript was to ascertain how far the Berber language prevailed. It is very satisfactorily shewn that this is the idiom of the aborigines every where

in North Africa. The supposition that some tribes in the vicinity of Tripoli speak the Coptic language, is sufficient to justify an investigation of their dialect. I should expect to find it to be Berber, corrupted by Phœnician, confirming what has been asserted by Strabo.'

The traveller commences his narrative by a description of Eghwaat, the place of his residence. After briefly noticing this and several other cities in the neighborhood, he proceeds to give an account of some of those in the oasis of Tuat in the middle of the great desert, including Timeemoun, a large town which has not been mentioned by any other traveller, and Shingita, a place a little to the northwest of Timbuctoo. Nothing is said of the last mentioned city, which the Pilgrim does not appear to have visited. He afterwards returns to his own neighborhood, gives an itinerary from Wergelah to Ghadames, with a description of that city and several others, near and on the coast, and concludes with a notice of Draieh in Arabia, one of the principal cities of the Wehabites.

From his introduction of a description of this city, as well as from sundry remarks interspersed through the narrative, we are inclined to suspect, that the worthy Pilgrim is no very orthodox Mussulman, but at bottom a sort of dissenter himself; although he is careful to make no unnecessary display of his opinions, and commences his narrative with the usual benediction upon 'our Lord Mohammed, his family and companions.' He observes throughout, in fact, a laudable discretion in regard to his personal concerns, and never introduces himself excepting in the laconic preface; 'This book contains a description of various places and countries by Hadji Ebn-ed-Din El-Eghwaati.' His manner is in general concise even to dryness, but withal apparently exact and judicious. There is no gossip about the private adventures of the inhabitants of the places that he visited,—no detail of conversations with his companions of the caravan,—no account of his entertainment at the Khans where he lodged on his route; nothing, in short, of all that fills the pages of those respectable personages who go forth under the patronage of 'the Row,' to 'take walk and make book.' The Pilgrim confines himself to a simple notice of the names of towns and of the distances between them, with a few remarks upon the more considerable places. Although his manner is certainly every way preferable to that of the Trollops, male and female, who habitually infest

this and all other civilized countries, we must needs say, that a rather more rich and complete account of places, so little known, would have been both curious and instructive. As a specimen of the style of the author, we extract the following description of his native city, and of some of the neighboring places.

‘Eghwaat* is a large town, and is surrounded by a wall, with fortifications. It has four gates, and four mosques. The language of the inhabitants is Arabic; and they dress in woollen clothes. The women of the better class never leave their houses; but others appear in the streets. There are no baths in this town. The country produces fruits abundantly, among which are dates, figs, grapes, quinces, pomegranates, and pears.

‘The town of Eghwaat is divided into two parts, by the river Emzee, which flows through it. This river is well known in all that region. The inhabitants themselves are divided into two parties, called *el-khelaif*, and *oulad-el-serghin*, which are often at war with each other. The cause of hostility between them, is generally the refusal of one of them to submit to the *Sheikh*.

‘To the east of Eghwaat are the ruins of a town, whose princes, at an early period, were Christians. There are, at this day, many inscriptions to be seen among these ruins.

‘The town of Eghwaat is built chiefly of clay or mud: there are, however, some houses constructed of mortar and stone. The mosques have no minarets; nor is there in the town any fixed market-place, nor any bath. The coin in circulation is that of Algiers and Fez. Trade is carried on here; and agriculture is attended to. Scorpions and the plague do not approach the town; because it was founded under a favorable horoscope. This region is very mountainous, and to the north there is a large mountain of rock.’

‘At the distance of one day’s journey to the north of Eghwaat, is situated the village of Tedjemout.† The inhabitants of this village are divided into two parties, and have no chief or governor. They fight with each other, as do the people of Eghwaat. The houses are built of stone and mud. To the north of Tedjemout is a very high mountain, called Djebel âmour ‡ There is also a mountain of salt near Djebel âmour.

* ‘This place is called Lowaate, by Shaw, ed. Oxford, 1738. Indeed he does not seem to have known that Eghwaat was a town, for he speaks of the Lowaate as Gætulian Arabs.

† ‘The first account of the *bigential* towns of Africa, was published by Captain Lyons, who remarked this singular fact, in relation to Ghadames. The subject has since attracted the attention of the Société Géographique of Paris.

‡ ‘Ammer of Shaw.’

' This town is situated to the west of Tedjemout. It is surrounded by walls similar to those of Tripoli, and has two immensely strong gates. The *hakem*, or governor, whose name is Ouled Tadjin, has about one hundred slaves, and a full treasury. Two years ago (1243 of the Hegira) his brother assembled troops for the purpose of marching against Oran, and seizing its treasures. All the Arabs of the surrounding country repaired to his standard ; and they marched with drums and fifes, and were provided with horses and tents. Mascara fell into their hands, and they moved upon Oran. The Bey of Oran, to defeat this army, distributed money among the Arabs of the expedition, which withdrew them from supporting Ouled Tadjin, who was subsequently killed in an attack upon his troops by the Bey.

' His brother is now Hakem of Ain el-Madhi. He has a bath in the centre of the town ; and among other splendid objects, he possesses saddles and trappings, embroidered with gold. He moreover owns a large library of books.

' The women of Ain el-Madhi appear in the markets. The distance of this town from Eghwaat is one day's journey.

' Djebel âmour is a very high mountain, and contains one hundred springs of water. A large river issues from it, which is called Alkhir, and is universally known. The land is cultivated upon this mountain ; and it furnishes every description of timber. Its length and breadth may each be estimated at two days' journey. The natives rear camels ; and some tend herds and flocks. They are good horsemen ; their language is Arabic ; and they are not governed by a Sultan.

' The number of armed men in Djebel âmour is about six thousand. Ain el-Madhi has about three hundred ; and Eghwaat one thousand.'

The singular circumstance of the division into hostile parties, which is here noticed as distinguishing Eghwaat and Tedjemout, has also been observed at Ghadames and some other places. Mr. Hodgson has the following remarks upon this subject in his fourth letter.

' There is a political phenomenon in the social history of the Berbers, which is worthy of the attention of the antiquary and of the philosopher. The towns of *Ghadames*, *Wergelah*, *Eghwaat*, (*Lowaate* of Shaw) and *Tlemsan* are, each of them, divided into two, three or four distinct communities or tribes, who war with each other like the Kabyle classes of the mountains : to these towns there is a common wall ; but each community has its particular section enclosed by an interior wall. Since the domination of the Turks, the Berbers have abandoned *Tlemsan*. Captain Lyon

made known this curious fact in relation to Ghadames, and Shaw to Tlemsan ; but I believe I have first noticed the political constitution of Wergelah and Eghwaat. The Geographical Society of Paris thus remarks upon the subject : "ce fait étant important pour toute l'histoire de l'antiquité, on est prié d'obtenir le plus de détails possibles sur l'origine, la nature, les conditions et les résultats de cette union."

The oasis of Mezzab, which according to Mr. Hodgson is about three hundred miles south of Algiers, is thus described.

' In this Wadey are six towns and villages, of which the largest is Ghardaieh. This town contains 2,400 houses, including mosques. Water is entirely procured from wells. It is surrounded by a wall, and has a large market-place, two minarets, and two gates. It is not under the government of a Sultan. The inhabitants speak the Berber language.

' In matters of faith the Mezzabies differ from the Arabs. They refuse reverence to the companions of the apostle of God (on whom be his benedictions and peace). They are opposed to the Sunnites, but agree in doctrine with the Wehabites, the Persians, and the inhabitants of Oman and Muscat.* All these people are Moätezelites, or dissenters. The Mezzabies are very temperate; they neither smoke tobacco nor drink wine. The Wadey produces dates.

' The natives of all this Sahara are familiar with the art of making gunpowder. The process is this : The earth or mortar of ruined towns is collected. This earth, which was originally saltish, is put into a large vessel, and water is poured upon it, in the same way that ashes are treated in the making of soap. The water thus obtained is boiled until it assumes consistency. A pound of this is then mixed with four pounds of sulphur and four pounds of charcoal of oleander wood. These ingredients are mixed together for the space of three hours, when the powder is made.'

The Mezzabies or Beni Mozab, *Sons of the Austere*, as they are otherwise called, are a rather singular race. They are white like the Tuarycks, and are probably a branch of the same family. The latter are thus described by El-Eghwaati.

' These are a powerful people. They are of very white complexion ; and when they ride they use camels. Their food consists entirely of flesh and milk, not having any grain. They

* Shaw (p. 86), says they are of the sect Melaki. Ebn ed-Din shews, that they do not belong to either of the four great sects of Islam. They are, in fact, Wehabites, as described by Anastasius.

dress in a *Sai* of black cotton ; and their *Serwal*, or pantaloons, are like those of the Christians. The Tuarycks pray standing, and cover their faces with a veil or piece of cotton. They never eat nor drink before persons. They *ghazzie*, that is, they make excursions into Soudan, and carry off slaves and property. This is a full and detailed account of the Tuarycks.'

Mr. Hodgson has an interesting article upon these people, who are also described by several late travellers, particularly Horne-man and Major Denham. It is remarkable, that while the Tuarycks and Mezzabies are white, other tribes, inhabiting the same region, and speaking like them the Berber language, are black, with woolly hair and negro features. The fact may be accounted for, by supposing that the white tribes are Arabs, who came into the country, perhaps in very ancient times, by the sea-coast, and have adopted the language of the natives. Or it may be supposed, on the other hand, that the white tribes are the representatives of the original inhabitants, and that the black ones, interspersed among them and speaking the same language, have emigrated from the negro regions in the South. Future researches will probably determine which of these theories is the correct one, and of course, whether the ancient Berbers, who inhabited the north of Africa before the periods of Egypt and Carthage, were white or black.

Timeemoun, a city which has never before been mentioned by any traveller, is thus described by our author.

' Timeemoun is a large town : but has no walls like those for defence, for the houses are all compact. It has a large market-place. There are dates here, as well as other fruits, and an abundant supply of water. Here is also found a bed of *red alum*. The dialect of the natives is Berber. Their sheep, like those of Soudan, are covered with hair, resembling that of goats, of a black color, and have long tails. Horses are numerous. There is water in the centre of the town, which is brought there by pipes. A market is held here, where slaves and gold-dust in great quantities are bartered ; the latter is sold by weight of *mit-skal* and *aukiah*. The color of the inhabitants is various, white, red, and black ; and they dress with woollen and cotton garments, and with a black *Sai*. The houses of Timeemoun are built of clay or mud, and it has four mosques. The inhabitants possess large flocks, and the Tuarycks carry on a traffic with them. They are true Mussulmans ; they pray, give alms, and read the Koran.'

Our author describes, in the following manner, the mode of hunting the ostrich, which is practised by the natives of North Africa.

'The hunter mounts his horse, provided with necessary food, and takes with him some water. He rides slowly until the middle of the day, at which time the ostriches assemble in flocks of one hundred or more. As soon as they perceive a man, they fly from him. The pursuit is continued for four hours, or less, when, oppressed with thirst and fear, the ostrich begins to flag. The hunter, being provided with water, drinks when thirsty, and finally overtakes the exhausted bird, whose entrails are already consumed with heat. The hunter then strikes him upon the head, which brings him to the ground. Descending from his horse, the hunter cuts the throat of the ostrich.'

'The hunter is attended by a man, who carries his provisions of food and water. This person follows the tracks made in the sand, until he comes up with his companion. They then place the ostrich upon a camel, and carry it home. This is the description of an ostrich hunt.'

The large and important city of Tuggurt is thus noticed by the Pilgrim.

'Tuggurt is a town of wealth and abundance. The country produces dates, figs, raisins, pomegranates, apples, apricots, peaches, and other fruits. The market of Tuggurt is very large. This town is the capital of that district, and has jurisdiction over twenty-four villages. It contains about 4000 houses, and is surrounded by walls, with gates. These are encircled by a fosse, which may be compared to a sea of water. It communicates with fountains of water, which all discharge into it. Over this ditch there are three bridges. The mosques have very high minarets.'

'There is a race of people in Tuggurt called Medjehariah, who occupy one separate quarter of the town. They were Jews in former times; but to escape death, with which they were menaced by the natives, they made profession of Islam, and are now constant readers of the Koran, which they commit to memory. They are still distinguished by the complexion peculiar to the Jews; and their houses, like those of that nation, emit an offensive smell. They do not intermarry with the Arabs; and it rarely happens that an Arab takes a wife from among the Medjehariah.'

'The governor of Tuggurt selects from among these people his scribes and book-keepers; but they are never admitted to the dignity of *Cadhi*, or *Imam*. They have mosques in their quarter

of the town, and they pray at the stated hours, except on the day of *djemá* (Friday,) which they do not observe as a sabbath. They possess great wealth. Their women appear in the market-places veiled, and converse in Hebrew among themselves, when they wish not to be understood. The governor of Tuggurt possesses a large stud of horses and saddles, with their trappings embroidered in gold. Drums are beat before him. He has the power of inflicting capital punishment; he burns houses, and seizes the property of individuals.

'From the top of the minarets in town, many villages and date plantations may be seen in the adjacent country. Nizlah, Tibes-best, Temise, Mogharin, Moghair, and other towns, to the number of twenty-four, are all seen from the minarets of Tuggurt. There are no stones to be met with here; but sources of water exist in abundance. The number of troops that can be raised is 5,000. The color of the population of Tuggurt is black, and they are called Erwaghia.'

'A liquor called *ekmy* is used by these people, which is extracted from the branches of the date-tree, by cutting and compressing them. They yield a liquid of reddish color, and sweet like sherbert. This is sold by measure in the markets.'

'The seasons for ploughing in this country are October and May. No Arab comes to this place, excepting the sick of fever. There is a salt-bed at Tuggurt; and, indeed, the whole country is a *sibkah* of salt.'

'The foregoing is a description of Tuggurt.'

The white people, here described as Jews, are spoken of by Mr. Hodgson in the following manner.

'In the city of Tuggurt, the capital of Wadreag, there exists a distinct race of white people, called by the Mohammedans *Muhedjerin*. The explanation of this term is found in the Koran of Maraccius or of Savary, in the Surat of Women, 88th verse. It is there applied to those who emigrate from their country, and adopt the religion of the prophet, upon which condition the faithful may receive them as friends and companions. The ancestors of these people are said to have been Israelites. To the woolly head and black skin of the Wadreagan, they present the striking contrast of light hair and fair complexion. They are Mohammedans, speak only the Arabic language, have a monopoly of the offices of state, under that of Sultan, and are, in fact, the monied and influential men. Are they of the *Leuco*, or white Ethiopians, of Pomponius Mela? Are they the lost tribes of Israel? The Falasha, a tribe of Jews discovered by Bruce in Abyssinia, still looked for the Messiah. At Tuggurt or *Jugurth*, Israel has for-

gotten Jerusalem ; and yet the Jugurthans say, his right hand has not forgot its cunning.'

The account given by El Eghwaati of Draieh, in Arabia, one of the principal cities of the Wehabites, is as follows.

' We shall describe this country, that of Nedjed, and the Wehabite Arabs. Draieh is a large town, with walls, and defended by a considerable number of troops, composed of Wehabite Arabs. This town has mosques ; but the people differ in their articles of faith from the inhabitants of Mecca, having no respect to the Prophet nor his companions. They profess to know *God* alone ; and do not pray to the Prophet, nor do they read the *Delil-el-Khairat*. If they find it in the possession of any one, they beat the individual, and burn the book. The *tesbih*, or chaplet of beads, is not tolerated. If it be found in the hands of a person, he is punished, and being called an idolater, he is exhorted to return to *God*. These Arabs are a powerful tribe ; none of them speak the Berber language. Their dress is a woolen castan, fastened with a girdle of thongs of leather ; and they tie round their heads silk handkerchiefs, dyed with saffron. This dye is highly esteemed by them, and bears the price of twenty-four of their dollars per pound. Their coin consists of dollars and sequins, which they call *Meshchas*. The arms in use among them are the spear and *djenbiah*, which is placed in the former. The *djenbiah* is a curved sword, about one dhrâa and a half long, and is keen in taking off the head. The Arabs call this weapon *asir*.

' The price of a horse in the market is thirty camels : the Arabs call their horses *kahalieh*, as a precious commodity. They are fine animals, and are as fleet as the wind. They are, at present, very rare, and are only found in the studs of princes in Egypt, Syria, and Fez.

' The actual Sultan of Draieh is Terki ouled Saoud. His predecessor was Saoud. The town is built of mud, lime, and stones. When a warlike expedition is proposed, 50,000 or more Arabs are assembled. In this region are many different people ; some are fire-worshippers ; others adore the sun ; and some worship the pudenda of their wives and beasts. May God deliver us from this !

' These Arabs do not always ride with saddles. If there is to be a fight in the mountains, they ride without them ; but they are used in the plains, where the Arabs mount with their swords. Some of the women fight by the side of their husbands. They are well supplied with arms.

' The color of these people is reddish. The foregoing is a
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narrative of what we have seen, written in the year 1242, in the Rebia-el-tseni.'

The city here described is the Darayeh of Anastasius. The account of the history, opinions and manners of the Wehabites, contained in that very able and interesting work, is apparently the result of personal observation, and is by far the most complete that has yet been published. The reader, who is disposed to compare the naked outline which is here given of the original Wehabite capital, with the brilliant and lively picture of it presented in Mr. Hope's novel, will find the latter in the second volume, fourteenth and fifteenth chapters. We may remark *en passant*, that the right of that gentleman to the authorship of Anastasius has been of late occasionally questioned. It is rumored, we know not exactly on what authority, that the work was written by a Frenchman, who resided at Smyrna, and that Mr. Hope,—while on his travels in the east,—purchased the manuscript, which he afterwards translated and published as his own production. Perhaps the question of the authorship of this oriental *Gil Blas*, may be as much discussed hereafter, as that of the Spanish one has been already. However this may be, we venture to predict, that no one will ever contend with Mr. Hope for the honor of having written his *Essay on Man*.

The work before us was printed at London, at the expense of an association, which has lately been formed there for the purpose of publishing translations of valuable oriental works. They have already brought out a number of exceedingly curious and interesting books, and have in preparation many more, of which a catalogue, occupying four pages in small type, is given in an appendix to the work before us. Among them, we notice a *History of the Berbers*, translated from the Arabic of Ebn-Khaldun, by Professor Lee of Cambridge. This is represented as ‘a rare and valuable Arabic work, containing an account of the origin, progress and decline of the dynasties which governed the northern coast of Africa.’ It will probably throw a good deal of new light upon the subjects, that are briefly touched upon in the letters of Mr. Hodgson.